

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 125286 TOSEC 020112

42/61

ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

66604

DRAFTED BY EUR/EE:CBROWN:LVA

APPROVED BY EUR:RDVINE/H:KBJENKINS

M:LEAGLEBURGER

S/S:JMEALUM

C:DOBBINS

D:RWDUEMLING

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

S, D, M, H, EUR, S/S AND ISO ONLY

----- 123362

O 292228Z MAY 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 125286 TOSEC 020112

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (OMISSION LINE 63 OF TEXT)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RO, US

SUBJECT: ROMANIAN TRADE AGREEMENT

FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM MCCLOSKEY AND VINE

1. AT ACTING SECRETARY'S MORNING STAFF MEETING, JENKINS REPORTED HIS AND MCCLOSKEY'S ASSESSMENT THAT WITHOUT QUICK SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONTINUING LOW EMIGRATION FIGURES FROM ROMANIA, THE TRADE AGREEMENT WILL NOT PASS THE CONGRESS. IT WAS THE CONSENSUS OF THE MEETING THEREFORE THAT IT WOULD BE WISEST TO DEFER SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE HEARINGS SCHEDULED FOR NEXT WEEK, TO PERMIT MAXIMUM OPPORTUNITY FOR ROMANIANS TO IMPROVE THEIR PERFORMANCE. THE ACTING SECRETARY AND EAGLEBURGER CONSIDERED THAT THIS BLEAK ASSESSMENT SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 125286 TOSEC 020112

SECRETARY'S ATTENTION AND THAT THE SECRETARY BE OFFERED OPTIONS ON HOW TO MAKE THIS CLEAR TO THE ROMANIANS WHILE THEY STILL HAVE TIME TO ACT. WE SUGGEST AN ACTION MEMORANDUM ALONG THE LINES OF THE FOLLOWING DRAFT. BEFORE SUB-

MITTING IT TO THE SECRETARY, HOWEVER, WE WOULD LIKE YOUR CONCURRENCE.

DRAFT ACTION MEMORANDUM

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM: WE REALIZE YOU BELIEVE WE HAVE TALKED ENOUGH TO THE ROMANIANS ABOUT THEIR EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE. HOWEVER IT IS THE CONSIDERED JUDGMENT OF MCCLOSKEY AND JENKINS THAT THE TRADE AGREEMENT IS LOST IN CONGRESS BECAUSE OF THE DISMAL EMIGRATION RECORD WHICH STILL SHOWS NO IMPROVEMENT IN APRIL AND MAY.

S A FIRST

STEP TO SALVAGE IT, WE BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL TO POSTPONE FOR AT LEAST THREE WEEKS SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE HEARINGS NOW SLATED FOR JUNE 5. IN ADDITION, WE SHOULD TELL THE GOR AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL JUST HOW BLEAK THE PROSPECTS HAVE BECOME.

BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS: THE ROMANIANS SIGNED THE TRADE AGREEMENT IN APRIL FULLY KNOWING THAT AN EARLY AND SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN EMIGRATION WAS NECESSARY TO ASSURE CONGRESSIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT. FOR SOME REASON, THEY HAVE NOT COME THROUGH WITH THIS IMPROVEMENT, AND THE UNEXPLAINED POOR SHOWING THEY CHALKED UP IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR HAS NOT APPRECIABLY CHANGED TO DATE. THIS APPLIES BOTH TO EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL AND TO THE US.

AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE AVOIDED DISCUSSING NUMBERS WITH OUR CONGRESSIONAL CONTACTS AND WITH THE PUBLIC. OUR LINE HAS BEEN THAT THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO WAIVE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT SHOULD BE JUDGED ON ROMANIAN PERFORMANCE IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD RATHER THAN ON THE WORDING OF THE PRESIDENT'S WAIVER MESSAGE. THESE "WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD" ARE NOW SLIPPING BY, WITH PRECIOUS LITTLE TO SHOW IN THE WAY OF INCREASED EMIGRATION. ALL WE HAVE ARE ROMANIAN ASSURANCES THAT APPLICATIONS FOR EXIT PERMITS ARE BEING APPROVED IN INCREASING NUMBERS. KEY CONGRESS-
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 125286 TOSEC 020112

MEN (E.G. VANIK) WHO OTHERWISE SUPPORT US SAY THAT THIS WILL NOT DO AND THAT CONGRESS WILL NOT ACCEPT OUR BLAND GENERALIZATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS THAT THESE "APPROVALS" WILL BE TRANSLATED QUICKLY INTO PASSPORTS IN HAND.

TO AVOID AN IMMEDIATE CONFRONTATION ON THIS ISSUE, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT WE SHOULD SEEK A POSTPONEMENT OF THE HEARINGS ON THE AGREEMENT BY THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE SCHEDULED FOR JUNE 5. THIS WOULD GIVE US A CHANCE TO SEE WHAT, IF ANY, DEAL MAY HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT ON EMIGRATION BETWEEN CEAUSESCU AND ISRAELI DEP. PM ALLON DURING THE LATTER'S CURRENT VISIT TO BUCHAREST. BEYOND THAT, HOWEVER, WE FACE THE PROBLEM OF WHAT CAN BE

DONE TO RETRIEVE THE SITUATION DURING THE MONTH OF JUNE.

THE OPTIONS:

1. DO NOTHING.

-- THIS LEAVES THE PROBLEM ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE ROMANIANS, AND WE COULD LATER LAY A MAJOR SHARE OF THE BLAME ON THEM FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE AGREEMENT. IT HAS THE DISADVANTAGE, HOWEVER, OF APPEARING TO BE YET ANOTHER FOREIGN POLICY DEFEAT FOR THE US, PART OF WHICH WOULD BE ASCRIBED TO YOU PERSONALLY.

2. A BRIEF MESSAGE WHICH AMBASSADOR BARNES COULD DELIVER FROM YOU TO CEAUSESCU ALONG THE LINES OF TAB 1.

-- THIS COULD DRIVE HOME AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN BUCHAREST OUR JUDGMENT THAT THE AGREEMENT IS IN SERIOUS TROUBLE ON THE HILL. IT COULD ALSO TRIGGER THE ONLY KIND OF DECISION WHICH WOULD BRING DRAMATIC RESULTS IN THE SHORT RUN. ON THE OTHER HAND SUCH A LETTER COULD OFFEND CEAUSESCU'S SENSITIVITIES.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. THAT WE SEEK A POSTPONEMENT OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE HEARINGS NOW SCHEDULED FOR JUNE 5.

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 125286 TOSEC 020112

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

2. THAT
YOU APPROVE THE MESSAGE AT TAB 1.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY, THAT WE SAY NOTHING TO THE ROMANIANS.
(TALKING TO AMBASSADOR BOGDAN WOULD NOT BE AN EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVE, SINCE WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HIM FREQUENTLY AND WITHOUT NOTABLE RESULTS.)

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

DRAFT TAB 1.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: YOU WILL RECALL OUR CONVERSATION LAST NOVEMBER IN BUCHAREST CONCERNING THE NEGOTIATION OF A TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I WAS MOST PLEASED THAT WE WERE ABLE TO WORK OUT A SATISFACTORY DOCUMENT EARLIER THIS YEAR WHICH IS CLEARLY BENEFICIAL TO BOTH ROMANIA AND THE UNITED STATES AND WHICH MEETS

FULLY THE REQUIREMENTS OF OUR LEGISLATION. AS YOU KNOW,
THE AGREEMENT IS NOW BEFORE CONGRESS FOR REVIEW AND
APPROVAL.

I REGRET TO REPORT THAT THIS PROCESS IS NOT PROCEEDING
AS SMOOTHLY AS WE HAD HOPED. OUR CURRENT ASSESSMENT IS
THAT THE AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE APPROVED IF IT WERE PUT TO
A VOTE BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL CRITICISM ON THE CON-
TINUING LOW LEVEL OF EMIGRATION APPROVALS THIS SPRING.
THIS HAS PROMPTED US TO SEEK A POSTPONEMENT FOR ONE MONTH
OF CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS SCHEDULED FOR EARLY JUNE IN
THE HOPE THAT SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS WOULD ENHANCE THE
AGREEMENT'S PROSPECTS IN CONGRESS. WE HAVE CONCLUDED
THAT SUCH HEARINGS AT THIS POINT WOULD ONLY INCREASE THE
LIKELIHOOD THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL BE REJECTED. FOR THIS
TO HAPPEN, I AM SURE YOU WILL AGREE, WOULD BE A MOST
UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENT AND ONE WHICH WOULD CLEARLY SET
BACK THE EXCELLENT PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN OUR BILATERAL
RELATIONS OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. I BRING THIS TO

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 125286 TOSEC 020112

YOUR ATTENTION BECAUSE I KNOW YOU WOULD SHARE MY CONCERN
IF THIS SHOULD OCCUR. RESPECTFULLY, HENRY A. KISSINGER.
INGERSOLL

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, TOSEC 20112, TRADE AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE125286
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/EE:CBROWN:LVA
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750189-1109
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197505104/baaaaldf.tel
Line Count: 191
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <21 OCT 2003 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 971016
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, RO, US
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006